PUDUKKOTTAI STATE
NATIONAL WAR FRONT BUREAU

BULLETIN] DECEMBER 16, 1944 [No. 228

The Editor will gratefully receive contributions, in English or Tamil, of articles on matters of *National War Front interest*, and publish them, if suitable, as signed articles, in the Bulletin. The articles should be short and reach the Editor a week in advance.

'POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION'

—See Page 26.

LECTURE CCXXVIII.

THE MIND OF THE GERMAN ARMY.

NO CONCEPTION OF POLITICAL FUTURE.

(*From the Eighth Army News*).

Now that complete military victory over Germany is in prospect, and some part of Reich territory has been occupied, the question of the political mood of the German people in the face of defeat moves rapidly into the foreground of the Allied preoccupations. Here an observer in the "New Statesmen and Nation" attempts to explain the political attitude of the Germans as indicated by enemy prisoners' views.

The Nazi Party on a long-term basis probably sees a future for itself in a carefully organised underground resistance movement, which would strive to make life intolerable for the occupation authorities, provoking them into reprisals, and gradually forcing them into the position that the Nazis themselves found so embarrassing in occcupied countries.

To the mass of the people, however, the situation at this stage must look different. They have their immediate future, individual and collective, to think of. The question is, are they thinking of it, and if so, in what terms.

The general political temper among the German masses is of immediate interest and concern to the Allies, for the purpose of efficient occupational administration.

Some 500,000 German prisoners have so far fallen into Allied hands in the West alone since D-Day. Even allowing for a proportion of Non-Germans among them, their number is large enough to permit the assumption that they represent a fair cross-section of the German people. Their views on Germany's post-defeat situation must be worth having and studying.

The majority of them are, of course, young men under 30, and their attitude may well exercise a decisive influence on the rest, the older generation and the women, who are most unlikely to outweigh them in the general trend of opinion.

What are these men thinking? How do they view the future? The answer, as far as can be judged from their reaction to questions by camp authorities, is merely negative.

The mass of the German people, as reflected by their representatives in Allied prison camps, seems to have no conception whatsoever of its political future. Nor does it show any visible interest in it. This sounds unbelievable, but on the strength of the evidence it seems, nevertheless, the truth.

THREE CATEGORIES.

These men fall roughly into three categories. To begin with, there is a definite hard core whose complete faith in the Nazi doctrine is unshaken. The disasters of the German armies in foreign lands have done nothing to undermine their belief in the infallibility of their political creed, and smilar disasters on their native soil will presumably have just as little effect on their fanaticism.

These are obviously the men on whom Himmler relies for his fight to the last corner. Their numbers are small, but they are in inverse proportion to their nuisance value.

The second category is much larger, and includes members of the Party. They have apparently made up their minds that the Nazi party and Nazi State as they know them are finished will not survive defeat, and they are not prepared to weep many tears over them.

But they make a very definite mental reservation with regard to the person of Hitler.

They see him not so much as the war leader, or the Head of the State or the Party Leader, but rather as the father of the whole nation and of all Germans.

In their minds he embodies something that transcends their immediate needs and problems, and even the immediate fate of the Fatherland.

They are convinced that he has nothing but the welfare of 'his people' at heart, and would be prepared to sacrifice everything (even the Party, perhaps) for their sake.

This provides a curious key to German morale.

Hitler, in their view, continues the war because he knows that he can win it. If he knew he couldn't win it, he would call it off at once, because it would then injure 'his people.' Hitler, in fact, is the one and only stable factor in their whole political outlook.

HITLER—THE SOLUTION.

If you remove Hitler from their mental picture it simply fades out, and behind it is nothing.

This frame of mind produces astonishing results. Even those who agree that Nazism is doomed, when asked who, in their view, would or should take over, make peace, reconstruct Germany answer blandly: why Hitler, of course! It does not even occur to them that he might get washed away with the tide.

It is chiefly among this category of young Germans that, again and again, a very odd kind of self-pity manifests itself.

They agree that the war is lost (and they will even agree that it was partly due to "mistakes" made by Hitler personally), but they feel that, after all, it is a great shame and pity, and that they have deserved better of the world.

They seem genuinely to believe that they really had almost succeeded in putting Europe in order, that everyone was just beginning to feel happy and content, that they had done a really useful job for which the world should have been grateful to them—and now this!

Suddenly they find themselves in a hostile and ungrateful world, surrounded by false friends (this goes in particular against Frenchmen whom they really thought they had won over), and everyone anxious to smash up what they had built up with so much love and care!

There remains the third category, and this constitutes the majority.

They have no love far National Socialism or for Hitler. The sooner the whole outfit disappears the better, because then, and only then, peace will come.

But peace, in their minds, does not seem to mean anything more tangible than return to their families, home-life, the end of the fighting ordeal. Beyond that very few of them are able to think.

They accept Allied occupation of Germany as a matter of course, and curiously enough are anxious to be reassured that it will be of a fairly long duration.

Their one fear is that Britain and America might soon lose interest in the matter and withdraw, leaving Germany open to the Russians and "disorder".

Their one desire is for order.

Beyond that, as far as they are concerned, the Government of Germany can be had for the asking.

ALLIES WILL PROVIDE.

When asked what kind of government they visualise, their reply is that the Allies will provide the government, and it is up to them to tell them what to do and how to do it.

Reconstruction of their homes, resumption of trade and industry, rebuilding of a normal peaceful life? "Yes, of course, that is what we want and we shall do it, but you (the Allies) will have to make the plans and issue the orders!"

It is this absence of any feeling for individual or communal initiative and responsibility which is the most startling and depressing symptom.

There exists among these young men, who should be looking forward to a life full of activity, no civic sense at all. They have no constructive conceptions of their own, and profess, to all intents and purposes, a complete bankruptcy of political ideas.

For twelve short years of Nazi rule this is a shattering result. Somehow vaguely in all this there exists an idea that a "strong man"—not Hitler, but someone of his stature and capacities—will have to emerge or pull things together, and an uncertain belief that such a strong man will turn up.

RUSSIA'S PART.

Beyond that, the main preoccupation of all these men is Russia, and the part she is going to play in post-war Germany. There is, curiously enough in view of the Party indoctrination which pervades, in indirect form, even the outlook of many confirmed anti-Nazis, a fair proportion of men who have no particular fear of Russia.

Austrians especially seem to feel that they will get on well with the Soviet Union. All Austrians, incidentally, without exception, agree that Austria must regain her independence, but very few are aware of the Teheran Declaration.

Among the rest opprehension with regard to the policy of the Soviet Union is general and deep-seated. All are haunted by a fear of atrocities, and in their desire to see the Russian nightmare staved off some conceive the oddest ideas.

Repeatedly one meets the idea that all the enormous mass of Allied war material, which prisioners have seen being unloaded in Normandy, is not only meant for Germany, but that "the Americans will go right through Germany and hold back the Russians."

While some still repeat the Goebbels line that Britain and Russia will fall out after the war, the general feeling seems to be that Britain and the U. S. A. will not only fight Russia after they have beaten Germany, but that they are under a moral obligation to do so, and that Germany, after its defeat, has a right to expect this from the Western Powers.

STRONGEST FOUNDATION.

As for democracy, the word has no meaning for them. Occasionally, chiefly among Roman Catholics, one encounters a vague belief in the capacity of the Church to play a part; even more occasionally workers' associations and the old trade unions are mentioned, but without real belief in their effectiveness or ability to contribute to "order."

This desire to find again a world in which there is order (which means peace, security and the rule of law) is perhaps the strongest thing on which the Allies have to build, and it is only in these remnants of ancient loyalties to organisations and institutions, which once played so important a part in the lives of the German people, that we find any constructive or stable idea to serve as the nucleus of a future Germany.

Hitler has gone a long way to producing "nihilism" among the German people.

The majority will be almost embarrassingly docile and willing to be instructed and ruled after the war. The Nazi bet on the Allies making mistakes, which will gradually force this disillusioned and apathetic mass once again to trust a Fuehrer, or a dynamic party.

This is a real danger, unless the Allies can together present Europe, including Germany, with a constructive idea for the integration of the Continent.

Hitler's New Order was terrible, but seen in retrospect any order seems better than anarchy.

In the reconstruction of Europe as a going concern, young Germans, after accepting their defeat, may find a new and useful outlet for their almost infinite capacity for work and obedience.

WEEKLY WAR SUMMARY.

(A)—LEADING EVENTS.

5—12—44 (Tuesday).	Red Army captures the railway junction of *SZIGETVAR* in Hungary.
	British 8th Armies occupies *RAVENNA* in Italy.
6—12—44 (Wednesday).	Americans capture *SAAREGUEMINE* in Lorraine.
	Albanians free *SCUTARI* (Albania).
	Red Army and Yugoslav Partisans free *SID* in *YUGOSLAVIA*.
7—12—44 (Thursday).	Americans land on the west coast of *LEYTE*.
	Russians clear the entire southern shore of Lake *BALATON*.
8—12—44 (Friday).	Americans cross the River *SAAR* at four more points.
	Russians capture *LEPSENY* on the railway to *VIENNA*.
9—12—44 (Saturday).	Russians break through the defences N. E. of *BUDAPEST* (Hungary).
10—12—44 (Sunday).	Americans capture *ORMOC* (in Leyte in the Philippines).
	A new powerful British Fleet has been formed to operate in the *PACIFIC* theatre under Admiral Sir B. Fraser.
11—12—44 (Monday).	French 1st Army enters *MUNSTER* in *ALSACE*.
	Chinese throw the Japanese out of *KWEICHOW* in China.
	Allies capture *KATHA*, *INDAW* and *NABA* in Burma.

(B) NEWS IN BRIEF.

The Western Front.—(1) The U. S. First Army is now within sight of the great Rhine city of COLOGNE. It has captured BERGSTEIN, SPORTSPLATZ, HUSENFELD, MEORDE, ECHTZ, OBERGEICH and SCHLICH. Organised resistance has ceased in the Julich area.

(2) **The U. S. Third Army** has crossed the Saar at yet another point, and developed a double threat to the Saar Basin by striking both above and below SAARBRUCKEN. It has taken RUHRLINGEN, WUSTWEILER and BLIESBRUCKEN. Heavy fighting continues in SAARLAUTERN, SAARGUEMINES and DILLINGEN. WERTZWEILER, ROSSBRUCKEN and WOLFERDINGEN have been entered. FORT BRIANT has fallen.

(3) **The U. S. 7th Army**, advancing N. E. of the Saar Union has reached the German border along a length of 40 miles. It has taken BUTTEN, NEUBEN, RATSWILLER, WISCHELSKOPP, LAPOUTRIE, HAGUENAU, REICHSHOFFEN, GRIESBACH and NIEDERBRONN.

(4) **The French 1st Army, and the U. S. 7th** in the Alsace Plain have freed OSTHEIM, cleared THANN and entered MUNSTER.

The Eastern Front.—Russian armies have reached the outskirts of BUDAPEST. The following places have been captured in HUNGARY:—ERCISI, RACZMAS, BARCS, ENYING, MIKE, OSOKONYA, KADONY, LEPSENY, SAROSD, BALASSAGYARMAT, NOGRAD, VACS, ASZOD, PALANK, ALOSGED, GOEDOELOE, and SZERENS.

Italy.—The 8th Army has taken MEZZANO, RAMERO and OLMATELLO, and the 5th Army, MONTE PENZOLA and MT. BITELILE.

The Philippines.—A new landing has been made on LEYTE Island, and the south end of the Yamashita Line held on the Island by the enemy has been eliminated. One more convoy consisting of 4 transports and 3 destroyers was sunk off LEYTE. It is also reported that in this engagement one more destroyer and 2 transports were left burning. ORMOC has fallen.

Super-Fortresses attacked IWO JIMA, the Japanese base in the BONIN GROUP, and TOKYO and HONSHU in the Japanese islands.

Burma.—British troops have taken the town of INDAW and reached NABA. East African troops are advancing along the KALEWA YEU Road towards SHWEGYIN. BUTHIDAUNG has been recaptured.

China.—Chinese troops have recaptured TUSHAN, SANHO and LIUCHAI and taken MANGGCHANG. Japanese troops have been driven out of the Province of KWEICHOW, and the threat that had recently developed to CHUNKING has been removed.

ALLIED AIR-RAIDS.

3—12—44. (Sunday).
GERMANY and the battle areas in EUROPE.
DAY:—
Communications and other targets in the immediate neighbourhood of battle areas in EUROPE.
NIGHT:—
Military objectives in W. GERMANY.

FAR EAST.
Jap strong points and positions on LEYTE (Philippines).

BURMA.
Railway installations on the MOULMEIN-BANGKOK line.
Enemy positions, a motor park and dumps in the CHINDWIN region.
Enemy communications in BURMA.

4—12—44. (Monday).
GERMANY and the battle areas in EUROPE.
DAY:—
Railway marshalling-yards, and industrial targets at KASSEL, MAINZ, GIESSEN, SOEST BEBRA and elsewhere in W. GERMANY.
"V-2" storage depot and vehicle park in HOLLAND.
The railway in the RUHR.
Targets in OBERHAUSEN.
Strong points, ammunition and storage dumps, gun positions, tanks, rail-cars and motor-transport on the BRENNER Route, in the PO Valley and in YUGOSLAVIA.
Shipping in the main port of RHODES.
Air-combats and grounded aircraft all along the Eastern Front.
NIGHT:—
Railway and industrial centres of KARLSRUHE and HEILBRONN.

FAR EAST.
No information.

BURMA.
Bunkers, dumps and river-craft in CHINDWIN region.
Targets in Central BURMA.

5—12—44 (Tuesday).
GERMANY and other battle areas in EUROPE.
(91 enemy planes shot down; 17 Allied planes missing).
DAY:—
Industrial targets in BERLIN.
Marshalling-yards at MUNSTER, OBERHAUSEN.
Locomotives and rail-cars in the SAAR area.
Railway-yards at REICHSHOFFEN and a place east of STUTTGART.
Gun positions and buildings in the BOLOGNA area.
Communications on the ITALIAN Battle Front.
Air combats all along the Russian Front (15 enemy planes shot down).
NIGHT:—
The railway and industrial centres of KARLSRUHE and HELLERONN.
The railway centre at HAMGEN.

FAR EAST.
No information.

BURMA.
Communications in Central BURMA.
Road transport and a shed between SAGAING and WETLET.
Troops and supplies in villages South of INDAW.

6—12—44 (Wednesday).
GERMANY and other battle areas in EUROPE.
DAY:—
Communication system in Western GERMANY.
Marshalling-yards at HAMM.
Railway-yards at KEMTEN.
Railway-lines at LIBLAR.
Targets in Northern and Eastern HOLLAND.
Gun positions and factories in MUNSTER area.
Targets at SAARBRUCKEN and neighbourhood.
Rail yards in HUNGARY, CZECHOSLOVAKIA and YUGOSLAVIA.
Rolling-stock and motor-transport in AUSTRIA and HUNGARY.
Enemy positions in Italian battle areas.
Communication in the PO Valley.
Air combats all along the Russian Front.
NIGHT:—
Rail-yards and an industrial plant in AUSTRIA.

FAR EAST.
Airfields at BURIANEN, DULAG and SANPABLU.
Airfields at TALLOBAN (in Leyte).

BURMA.
Enemy positions near BHAMO.
The western front at NYAUNGU.
Barracks and a bridge South of TOUNGOO.

7—12—44 (Thursday).
GERMANY and the battle areas in EUROPE.
DAY:—
Gun positions near SAAR.
Rail-transport near LEBACH and BAD KREUZNACH.
4 railway-yards near SPEYER.
Communications behind the immediate battle fronts in Western EUROPE.
Communications in the PO Valley and on the BRENNER Route.
Road and rail-targets in Northern ITALY.
Barges in the CAROLE Canal (Italy).
Industrial installations at VIENNA.
Air combats and aircraft on the ground all along the RUSSIAN Front (3 enemy planes shot down).

FAR EAST.
Aircraft plant at MUKDEN and other strategic targets in MANCHURIA.
Barges and freighters near and around the PHILIPPINES.

BURMA.
Stores and Jap troops South of KALEWA.
The airfields at MAGWE and AKYAB.
Rolling-stock on the MANDALAY-MYITKYINA Railway.
Bridges in Central BURMA.

8—12—44. (Friday).
GERMANY and the battle areas in EUROPE.
DAY:—
Marshalling-yards at DUISBURG.
The synthetic oil-plant in the MEIDERICH District.
Rail-transport and buildings in N. ITALY.
Road and rail-transport in YUGOSLAVIA.
Air combats all along the RUSSIAN Front. (46 enemy planes shot down).
NIGHT:—
Laying mines in enemy waters.

FAR EAST.
Enemy positions in and around the port of ORMOC (Leyte).
Jap shipping off LEYTE (Philippines).
Jap military installations in IWO JIMA.

BURMA.
Railway-objectives on the BURMA-SIAM Railway.
Sea-planes near VICTORIA Point.
A new bridge at YEU.
Military objectives in Central BURMA.

9—12—44. (Saturday).
GERMANY and the battle areas in EUROPE.
DAY:—
Transportation targets in HOLLAND and Western GERMANY.
A factory at BURGSTEINFURT.
Railway-yards N. E. of KAISERSLAUTERN.
Marshalling-yard at DUISBERG.
Industrial objectives and rail-yards at REGENSBURG (Germany).
Skoda works at PILSEN (Czechoslovakia).
Railway-yards at VILLACH (Austria).
Objectives in North ITALY.
Communications in the PO Valley.
Shipping in the N. ADRIATIC.
Road and rail-lines in YUGOSLAVIA.

FAR EAST.
Airfields on Islands in the PHILIPPINES.
A light cruiser off LUZON.
An aerodrome in VISAYAS.
Air combats over LEYTE (Philippines).

BURMA.
A radio-station at SHWEBO.
Airfield at ONBUK.
Buildings at KAWLIN.
The railway near WETWUN.
Communications, bridges, road and rail-transport and other targets in Central BURMA.

ENEMY AIR-RAIDS.

4—12—44 (Monday).
BRITAIN, RUSSIA and FAR EAST.
No enemy air activity.

5—12—44. (Tuesday).
BRITAIN, RUSSIA and FAR EAST.
No information.

6—12—44. (Wednesday).
BRITAIN and RUSSIA
No enemy air activity.
FAR EAST.
Air base at SAIPAN (6 Jap planes shot down).

7—12—44. (Thursday).
BRITAIN and RUSSIA.
No enemy air activity.
FAR EAST.
A place on the ORISSA coast (India).

8—12—44. (Friday).
BRITAIN, RUSSIA and FAR EAST.
No information.

9—12—44. (Saturday).
BRITAIN, RUSSIA and FAR EAST.
No information.

10—12—44. (Sunday).
BRITAIN.
No information.
RUSSIA and FAR EAST.
No enemy air activity.

SIDE LIGHTS.

BATTLE OF THE RIVERS. Reuter's Correspondent at S. H. A. E. F. cables under date Dec. 12 :—

'The battle of the Rivers, Saar and Roer is flaming furiously. Foul weather, which makes air support scarce and leaves the ground with inches of fresh snow, has failed to prevent the conflict from becoming fierce. There are two main fighting centres. Gen. Hodge's First Army in the battlefield, E. of Aachen is following up with punch after punch, in a determined attempt to push its way to the Roer, the barrier guarding the Cologne plain. Gen. Patton's Third Army to the South is grimly hacking away at German defences guarding the vital Saar war-industry. The First Army men are in sight of Cologne on a clear day. They see the outline of the great Rhine city from the heights down which they are pushing towards the Roer in the present swoop.'

The Battle of the Western Front is thus resolving itself into a battle of the Rivers, of the Rhine, the Roer and the Saar. What the Nile is to EGYPT, what the Irrawaddy is to BURMA and the Yangtse to CHINA, that is the Rhine, to GERMANY and even more. No Rhine, no GERMANY. It is GERMANY's natural communication line with the outside world. It is linked with the French transport-system by the Rhine-Rhone and the Rhine-Marne Canals. It drains an area of 75,000 square miles. But the Rhine is not only the river of German subsistence and trade, the river of legend and song, of castle and crag, it is, in a different and more vital sense, what the Channel is to BRITAIN—a natural frontier defence. Though the sea barrier of BRITAIN is wider, Rhine's broad and swift-flowing waters are also a formidable bulwark, which the invader must take into account.

The area watered by the Rhine and the Saar, the Ruhr and the Roer are the centres of the great coal and steel industry so important to GERMANY. They are the most thickly populated and the most productive. Here most of GERMANY's eggs, as it were, lie in a single basket, and the Allied conquest of this region will spell GERMANY's doom.

It is therefore no wonder that the enemy is fighting grimly on this soil, because to lose it is virtually to lose all. German A. A. guns are being transferred for the defence of this area. Bridges are being destroyed over the rivers. Himmler's S. S. men are busy rounding up foreign slave-workers who have fled from the factories into the Black Forest. The picture is altogether one of a besieged fortress in the last stages of capitulation.

Meanwhile, Von Rundstedt, the German Commander on the Western Front, is fighting a delaying action in a hopeless struggle, with what armies he has—some 65 Divisions—a force quite inadequate to resist the massed invaders. In the last six months, according to an official statement issued by the Director of the French Military Information Bureau, the German loss has been over 3,000,000 fighting men—1,150,000 in France, 1,500,000 on the Eastern Front and 300,000 in Italy. In addition, GERMANY has lost 700,000 in Satellite troops supplied originally by RUMANIA, FINLAND and BULGARIA, and this is a loss which should be represented by nearly doubling this number, as many of these Satellite troops have now gone over to the Allies and are fighting against GERMANY itself. The losses on the Western Front alone have been computed at

170 Divisions amounting to the call-up of 4 or 5 conscriptions. To this, must be added the loss, in wounded, of some 1,000,000 men. In the past three weeks alone ending on Dec. 9, the loss on the Western Front has reached a total of 152,000, at 6,600 a day.

Von Rundstedt, as the Germans themselves admit, is fighting with his back to the wall, but yet, not without skill and certain advantages. He has the Siegfried Line to fall back upon, with his communications in the interior, though battered, and weather now in his favour. He has also only defensive warfare to conduct, on his own soil, which is different from mobile warfare in another's country. For defence, comparatively fewer men will do. Von Rundstedt, therefore is doing his best to hold on, as long as he may, with his inadequate forces, with his reformed and battered units, composed partly of ill-trained Volks grenadiers drawn from the civilian ranks. Thus, while unable to push the invaders back or to prevent their continuing advance, he is imposing an unavailing delay which cannot however last.

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THE AIR-WAR OVER GERMANY, has been stepped up. On Dec. 11, 6,000 aircraft from British and Mediterranean bases devastated large areas of enemy territory, paying special attention to oil factories. Of these machines, 1,600 bombers and 800 fighters left BRITAIN in 5 big forces, manned by 16,800 men, making a column of formations nearly 3,000 miles long. According to German reports, the Todt Organisation is hard put to repair the damage, although German ingenuity has transferred whole towns to areas underground, where homes, shops and hospitals have been built. Dr. Goebbels has admitted that the danger from the air is serious. Recently he wrote in his journal *Das Reich*:—

'It must be understood that we have still enormous dangers and difficulties to overcome, mainly in air-warfare. In this sphere no relief can be felt yet, but we are working fanatically to make it more difficult for foreign aircraft to penetrate. At present they seem to penetrate the German air-space almost unhampered and without risk.'

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ON THE EASTERN FRONT. Russian armies have reached the outskirts of BUDAPEST, the capital of HUNGARY. The Hungarian Government is reported to be adandoning the city. The road to VIENNA now lies open to the invaders.

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ON THE ITALIAN FRONT, progress is kept up, in spite of rain and storm. The M. A. A. F. is playing an important part, not only in the Italian theatre but over all the countries still under enemy occupation, chiefly AUSTRIA and South GERMANY. It is helping the Red Army in its present advance towards VIENNA.

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FROM LEYTE, in the PHILIPPINES, comes the welcome news of the fall of the port of ORMOC, long contested by the Japanese. Fighting in this theatre has been most difficult, owing to the unusually heavy rains of November. More than once Allied troops have had to be fed from the air, as in the worst NEW GUINEA days, in the Owen Stanley range. The Japanese are fighting here with the rashness of despair. Taking advantage of narrow seas and dark nights, they

have been trying to bring supplies and reinforcements to their beleaguered garrison, convoyed by a few destroyers. Such is their dearth of naval forces. In their latest attempt of this kind, seven at least of these convoys were sunk by Allied shore-based fighters—not even bombers, and the estimated loss is 29 transports (103,000 tons), 18 escort vessels and 25,000 soldiers (drowned). Any part of the convoys that got through were attacked as they unloaded at ORMOC. Japanese forces in the air have simply faded out. Still JAPAN clings to LEYTE, and for understandable reasons. The Battle of LEYTE is the Battle of the PHILIPPINES, the Battle of JAPAN; to lose the first is to lose the last. Like GERMANY, JAPAN too is now fighting only to delay the day of defeat, in the vain hope of waging a war of attrition.

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THE BRITISH PACIFIC FLEET. Thrice welcome again is the news that a new and powerful British Fleet has been formed to operate in the Pacific theatre, with Sir Bruce Fraser, formerly C.-in-C. of the Eastern Fleet, in Command. A separate East Indies Fleet under Sir Arthur J. Power will also operate, along with the R. I. N., as part of the S. E. Asia Command. Thus, in the place of the original single Eastern Fleet, there will be at least two Fleets, in fulfilment of Churchill's promise to send part of the British Navy to participate in the war against JAPAN. With the sinking of the *Tirpitz*, the German battleship, part of the British Navy can now be spared. Simultaneously; the biggest battleship ever built has been launched, and in the words of Mr. A. V. Alexander 'she will sail in tropical waters against the enemy we particularly want to beat.'

The worst period of the Pacific menace is over. Gone are the tragic days of the loss of the *Prince of Wales*, the *Repulse* and the *Hermes*, when INDIA lay open to the enemy. For sometime the Battle of the Atlantic and the Mediterranean kept the British Navy engaged elsewhere. The recent arrival of British naval vessels in Far Eastern waters, though unadvertised, has been revealed in a number of isolated engagements; as in the attacks on SABANG, the oil centre of SUMATRA, the bombing of the ANDAMANS and the NICOBARS; the landings in MAPIA ISLANDS; and the sinking of 62 Japanese vessels on their way to RANGOON.

The Far Eastern Fleet, as the *Observer* puts it, has been built up 'for much more than the recovery of BURMA and MALAYA. Quite apart from BRITAIN's moral obligations to BORNEO, HONGKONG, AUSTRALIA, NEW ZEALAND, the Chinese and the Dutch, it becomes daily more plain that the British Fleet will be indispensable in the Pacific. And it will be strong enough to engage single-handed any naval force that JAPAN can muster against it.'

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IN BURMA, 'the Forgotten Army' is making steady progress, the latest achievements being the capture of NABAU, INDAW and BUTHIDAUNG. Allied thrusts have developed into a multi-pronged drive southward. On the Chindwin Front the move is against SHWEIGYIN and the valley of the Mu. DOWN in the ARAKAN, pressure is kept up in the Kaladan Valley. Thus, in the savage, disease-ridden jungles of N. BURMA, composite battles are being fought out, by the Allied Forces of Reconquest—Indian and British, Chinese and Burmese, Australian, East African and

West African—some 50 nationalities in all, as a commentator has computed, along a length of 700 miles, twice as long as the Western Front in EUROPE. These diverse thrusts are slowly ejecting the enemy, though, of course, with his usual tenacity, he gives ground only slowly, contesting every inch of it. But, for the Allies, the period of uncertainty is over at last. The road to RANGOON is being opened, as the Battle for the mountain strips of N. BURMA is being succeeded by the Battle of the Plains below, between the Chindwin and the Irrawaddy, for the ancient city of MANDALAY. Upon this area three columns are converging from BHAMO, KATHA and KALEWA.

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IN CHINA, the Japanese advance in KWEICHOW Province has been arrested. Mr. T. V. Soong has been appointed President of the Executive YUAN, in order to relieve Marshal Chiang Kai-Shek for purely military duties. Mr. Donald Nelson, President Roosevelt's Personal Representative to CHUNGKING, has become also the Economic Adviser to the Government of CHINA, and his first step has been to advise on the formation of a Chinese War Production Board.

Thus matters are moving fast enough just now, and will soon move faster than one may expect with the European war still on. In the words of His Majesty "the enemy is being thrown back from India, while the American Ally continues to reduce the shrinking area still under Japanese control in the Pacific." His Majesty has added, "we intend to reinforce as rapidly and as powerfully as possible the United Kingdom forces, who are now sharing with their comrades from all parts of the British Commonwealth and Empire and from the U. S., China, the Netherlands and France, the burden of the struggle against Japan.".

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PROBLEMS OF PEACE. With the liberation of the recently enslaved lands, with victory in sight, European problems are passing from military to political, social and economic matters. Among them, the question of feeding them stands first; the enemy has practised scorched-earth too well, with more than his usual throughness and savagery. Again, organisations which had been formed to resist the enemy, suddenly finding their occupation gone, refuse to be disbanded, or to help the country back to a peaceful and normal life. Factions which the war threw up claim the status of political parties, indulging in antagonisms and resentments not compatible with a stable Government. The Allies have altogether a difficult task on their hands. They have to remind these nations, sometimes by force of arms, that they have still their responsibilities in the war, and that if they do not actively help, they have yet, at least, not to impede or distract the war-effort by their internecine quarrels.

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THE GREEK CRISIS. These problems observed in the affairs of BELGIUM, FRANCE and ITALY are being painfully illustrated by the happenings in GREECE to which we alluded last week. The legacy of GREECE from the days of Metaxas and of German occupation has been formations of Guerilla bands—the E. L. A. S. (Greek, Popular Libgration Army), the E. D. E. S. (Greek Democratic Liberation Army), the E. A. M. (National Liberal Front) and the P. E. E. T. (Committee of the Mountains) all bent on snatching power from the *Emigré* Greek Government at CAIRO, not by means democratic, but by armed revolt. As Mr. Churchill pointed out in the Parliamentary

debate of Dec. 8, this is not 'democracy'; 'the clamour to shoot every one politically inconvenient is not democracy'. On the other hand, 'any *Coup d'état'* by murder gangs, is a masquerade and mockery of democracy'. Democracy must function through the ballot box and not by using the secret bomb.

These points which Mr Churchill and Mr. Eden made out in the course of the debate, and which won for them a renewed vote of confidence, by 279 votes to 30, have a wider application, apart from GREECE, to other lands, to misguided men, in INDIA and elsewhere, to the so-called 'Friends of Freedom', who, like Mr. F. S. Cocks (Lab.) grow lyrical and exclaim, irresponsibly :—'To-day on the sacred soil of Athens, in the shadow of the Acropolis, British soldiers and Greek Patriots lie dead, side by side, each with an Allied bullet in his heart. I ask Parliament immediately to put an end to this fratricidal strife. The British have began lately to support many old worn-out régimes in Europe.' These men forget that if BRITAIN stood out these 'Friends of Freedom' themselves would be swept away in another tidal wave of the Huns.

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INDIA'S MERCANTILE MARINE. Visiting the Dufferin on Dec. 7, H. E. the Viceroy drew attention to the important part played by the Mercantile Marine in Warfare, in bringing reinforcements and supplies across the sea, and used the occasion to make an impressive exhortation to the young men under training on board the vessel. He said :—

"Next, I want to say a few words to you on the significance of the career you have chosen, for yourselves and for India. It is a great service, to which you are dedicating yourselves. I think it is right to say that the seafaring profession, and the medical profession, are the two callings which have made the greatest contribution to the progress of civilisation. Both are lives of hard service, yours especially. Both are of great value to humanity. Trade by sea, carried on by the daring of the sailor, has been always the vanguard in the march of civilisation throughout the world.

To India, the development of a merchant service is specially important. I believe there are only two or three countries with a longer coast-line than in India, probably only two—Australia and the U. S. A.—with a greater length of generally navigable coast-line, Russia and Canada may have longer stretches on the map, but they are largely ice-bound, and useless for trade. So it is essential that India should have an adequate strength of shipping, manned by her own citizens. I am glad to learn that there has been a record number of applicants this year for the training given on the *Dufferin*.

Lastly, I should like to congratulate you all on what I have seen here to-day, on the standard of training—moral, physical and technical—which this ship upholds. I am sure that you all realise that in your service it is character above everything else that counts. The sea does not long tolerate a weakling or a waverer. When I was a young officer on the North-West Frontier—that was many years ago, I am afraid—it was always impressed on me that the Pathan tribesman was the best practical examiner in minor tactics: he was always watching you, he seldom let carelessness or irresolution pass unpunished, he acted quickly so that your own decisions had to be quick. I should say that the sea was the best practical examiner of character; any weakness, any hesitation, any lack of hardihood is found out and is punished, sooner or later, and almost always

sooner. A hard testing life, but a man's life. 'Oak and triple brass must be round the heart of the man who goes to sea', said the Latin poet Horace. If he had been writing to-day he might have substituted teak and hardened steel.

I wish you all good fortune in your training, and in your seafaring. You have a great opportunity, in a great service."

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WAR LEGISLATION IN PUDUKKOTTAI. The PUDUKKOTTAI Government have prohibited the import and export of sugar and its products without permits. A Food-Grains Order has been issued to the effect that within a month after harvest land-holders paying an annual kist of Rs. 20 or above must make a declaration of the quantity of food-grains which their lands have yielded, and the quantity necessary for their domestic consumption and for cultivation, and other agricultural expenses. They shall also be bound to keep their excess produce in safe custody, and to dispose of it in such manner as the Government directs. A Press Note makes it an offence to buy or sell or possess after Dec. 31, 1944 any yarn or cloth manufactured (not by handloom) and packed before Jan. 1, 1944 and to dispose of them within a year from the date marked on them. Another order prohibits the sale of spare parts of motor vehicles at a price exceeding the rate fixed by the Government.

"OFFENSIVE IN DEPTH."

ALLIED AIR PLAN AGAINST GERMANY.

(By Wing Commander L. V. Fraser).

The continued and almost unbroken strategical and tactical successes of the Allied air forces operating over Germany cannot fully be appreciated merely by reading the list of targets attacked or the enemy aircraft shot down. These published statements and figures are impressive enough.

They conform to a grand comprehensive plan methodically carried out; but only those with intimate knowledge of conditions in which the air-war is now being fought can realise the difficulties which have to be overcome.

These difficulties apply especially to the British and United States Tactical Air Forces operating from forward airfields close to the German frontier. Aircraft take off and land pilots, and the ground staff live and work, in conditions which might have been thought impossible at this time of the year and in such terrain.

Take the forward airfields of the Royal Air Force Second Tactical Air Force in Holland as examples. A casual glance at one of these airfields from the air, or when entering it on the ground, might justifiably lead one to suppose that here was a gigantic rubbish heap. Mud creaters, litter of every kind and wrecked buildings meet the eye wherever one looks.

Yet Spitfires, Tempests and Typhoons manage to navigate the swampy ground, avoiding rain-filled craters, and take off from new or repaired runways, whenever the weather is remotely favourable, so as to give the closest support to the ground forces.

This support has had and is having great success, due not only to the skill of the pilots and the technical perfection of aircraft, but to the organisation which has enabled squadrons to move in Kangaroo-jumps from Normandy through France and Belgium to the western borders of the Reich in Holland. The remark of a member of airfield construction on first sighting one of the captured Dutch airfields just about sums up the conditions. "If ever there was a picture of depressing desolation, this is it," he said.

Allied bombing had torn up runways and pitted the ground, and enemy time-bombs had blasted every hangar and building. The rains and the overflowing dykes had done the rest. The landing strip was quickly levelled out and drained, so that the squadrons could operate while the rest of the airfields was being tidied up.

Latterly, the pilots and ground staffs have moved out of their tents. Sometimes, accommodation has been found in the villages near by. The men also fended for themselves, by building huts on log-runners, so that they can be towed by a tractor to other locations when the mud becomes too deep. Fitters, instrument repairers and armourers wade through water and slime to attend to aircraft, and they and the pilots joke about their discomforts, and carry on their work against the enemy with their customary communal cheeriness.

Thus the tactical air war has continued, though necessarily curtailed by the shorter hours of daylight and the frequent mists. In addition, we read of R. A. F. Bomber Command's increasingly heavy attacks on industrial centres, Lancasters draining the Dortmund-Ems Canal and the Ems-Weser Canal, and U. S. Fortresses and Liberators attacking marshalling-yards and pounding vital oil-plants—air-battles in which the *Luftwaffe* lost more than 200 fighters in two days.

All of which suggest a great pattern of air-war. We have so frequently heard of "defence in depth" that it is a change to think of "offence in depth" as exemplified by Allied air forces.

Broadly speaking, it is as if there were three waves of air attack on Germany from the West, spreading right back through Holland and Belgium to the airfields of England.

First, there are the Tactical Aircraft—fighters and fighter-bombers—operating from advanced airfields ranged as closely around the long arc of Germany's western wall as possible. Further back, there are Medium bombers based on Continental airfields. Far behind them scattered over England are the "Heavies" which carry out long-range bombing by night and day.

With Medium bombers now based on the Continent, a new factor has arisen enabling Germany itself to be the hunting ground for this valuable type of aircraft. The "Mediums" are especially effective against road and rail bridges, hampering communications which are so essential to the enemy's army, however close to its supply bases it may be. With their long range, the "Heavies" from England can roam over the Reich to attack as close a target as Cologne or as distant an one as Munich.

This "offensive in depth" enables the tactical and strategical plan to be remorselessly prosecuted, even at this time of the year which is most unfavourable to air operations. The plan has brought pilots and soldiers into a closer partnership than ever before, and each is aware of the other's part in a closely-knit pattern.

What has the enemy in the air to offer in return? The reluctant *Luftwaffe* is being forced more often into combat, and among its ranks are jet-propulsion types. There are flying bombs and rocket shells. But so far, it does not appear as if any of these air weapons can alter the course of the war, nor that Germany has an adequate answer to the grimly methodical unfolding of Allied air plan—"offensive in depth".

250,000 TONS OF BOMBS IN SIX MONTHS

AIR OFFENSIVE OVER GERMANY

By George Fyfe

(From the Daily Telegraph)

It is only a question of time before Hitler is compelled to reveal his last secret. It is one of which he cannot be very proud, for it concerns the amount of destruction that has been caused by the bombing of Germany.

Our own experience of enemy raids proved that any thickly populated area's. powers of recuperation can be surprisingly great. Notwithstanding the fiercest attacks Germany's huge fleet of bombers could make, London went on functioning.

With this in mind, many people became increasingly sceptical over our ability to cripple Germany by similar attacks from the air Some time had to elapse before they were able to appreciate properly the wisdom of our air leaders, who were taking a longer view and never weakened in advocating it.

The Germans had built up their enormous air force as auxiliary to the army, and this led to their undoing. Our experts, on the other hand, had thought out an air-policy that was dictated by much wider considerations. Our bombing offensive was no haphazard attempt to strike terror into the heart of the enemy, but developed in conformity with the carefully planned strategical policy of disorganising his industrial life. Our objectives were clearly defined.

Apart from a few special targets, 25 out of 30 cities in Germany that had a population of more than 200,000 were selected for treatment, because of their importance in the manufacture of munitions. All these cities are west of a line drawn from Stettin down to Leipzig, and within range of our bombers. Only gradually could we build up a bombing strength necessary for night raids on a colossal scale, and, as we progressed, the Germans found themselves in a position they had never contemplated; their whole effort had been based on co-operation with the army, and all they could do was hastily to improvise. Of night fighters they had none, and they were seriously handicapped.

They had rectified the position to some extent when the U. S. Air Force complicated it afresh by embarking on heavy daylight raids. This forced the Germans to bring in large numbers of fighters that had been operating with the army, and by the end of 1943 half the German fighter force was being employed in a defensive capacity.

Even this was not sufficient: as American raids increased, it was frequently necessary to send up night-fighters. In the end, the need for fighters became so insistent

that the construction of bombers had to be practically abandoned. The army was deprived of the air support it had previously received.

It was in these circumstances that we went into Normandy. The German Air Force was so busily occupied in defending Germany that it had no fighters to spare to repel the landings. If they hoped our new commitments would bring them some relief from night and day bombing, they were disappointed. Attacks on targets in the Reich by the British and Americans grew greater.

I do not think I am wrong in saying that since the landings, Bomber Command alone has dropped on Germany nearly 150,000 tons, which is half as large again as the tonnage it dropped on all targets in Europe in the first three-and-a-half years of the war. But if we include the huge quantity sent down by the Eighth U. S. Air Force, the total dropped on Germany since the landings must be at least 250,000 tons.

The quickening up of deliveries, that began last year and has been steadily developed, was due not merely to the vast increase in the number of bombers but to additional load capacity and great advance in technique.

When the Germans started their raids on Britain, their plan was to wear down defence by continuing the raids throughout the hours of darkness—one group of aircraft following another at intervals. Bomber Command relied on the same method, until it decided that greater damage could be caused by a short but heavy concentration on the target area. The theory was that ack-ack gunners and night fighters would be unable to increase their proportion of successes within a given time, and that a large number of simultaneous fires would overwhelm the fire brigades. Through some clever scientific work, which enabled us to time accurately the arrival of each aircraft at a certain point, it became possible to ensure the carrying out of mass raids within a strictly limited period. One thousand bomber raids were the outcome, though they were a great strain on our resources in 1942.

The results were remarkably successful. A concentrated raid on Cologne lasted for only an hour-and-a-half, during which bombers arrived at the rate of 12 per minute. The defences were saturated, at a loss of not more than four per cent.

Although it was not practicable at that period to carry out more than three 1,000 bomber raids, the tactics employed were accepted as the basis of all subsequent attacks. In 1944, we have found it possible, through steadily improved technique and equipment to cause as much damage in highly concentrated attacks by 289 air craft as we caused by 1,000 on Cologne in 1942.

After a while, we perfected a special bomb, which when dropped skilfully on a target would burn brightly and provide a glare, observable even through cloud. This device proved so successful that it led to the formation of a Pathfinder unit, which, constantly aided by novel equipment, has been instrumental in ensuring the success of our great raids in conditions which previously would have been impossible. Pathfinder's bomb is the bull's eye in the target area that Bomber Command goes out to hit.

Well, we wait now to see what has been accomplished. A great deal is already known, but a good many findings have to be confirmed. Resourceful interpreters of our air photographs will be able to see whether the conclusions they had arrived at in assessing the destruction were correct or not. It seems probable that they have underestimated the damage. At Aix la Chapelle, for example, I have seen several buildings, which if vertically photographed would show little evidence of damage, because the roof remained apparently intact. Yet from ground level it was easy to see that the whole of the interior was wrecked.

PO VALLEY—"THE COCKPIT OF EUROPE".

By Murray Oulton.

(*From Saturday Night*).

[A historic stage upon which much of Europe's history has been set, the Po Valley, now being liberated, has very definite characteristics.

In the article below Murray Oulton describes the natural features of the Valley and how they have affected the character of its people.]

It is not possible to overstate the influence of the Po on the geography, economics, and military history of Italy. More than that, it has been one of the most dominant factors in European civilization.

There is a saying that "The Po Valley has been the cockpit of Europe." It is literally true, for it has been the battlefield of the Celt, the Phoenician, the Latin and the Teuton.

In the Valley of the Po, Hannibal recruited his legions before he made his first descent upon Italy proper; it was there that Caesar made his irrevocable decision by crossing the Rubicon—a phrase which has now passed into common speech—thereby founding the Empire; it was there too, that the barbarians pulled the decaying Empire to pieces and that Charlemagne re-established it; and then, last century, came the most momentous event in the history of Italy since Caesar's act, the unification of the country, which was accomplished in the north.

The Po Valley is unique in Europe. In the Middle Ages it became one of the two outstanding centres of city-civilization of the Continent. Population was dense there, and it was linked to the other similar centre, another low-lying country, the Netherlands, by the Rhine.

Mountains and rivers have made the Po Valley what it is, cut off from the northern countries of Europe by the vast semicircle of the Alps, and separated from southern Italy by the Apennines.

In olden days it was not regarded as forming part of Italy at all, but was looked upon as part of Gaul. To this day, French dialects are used in Piedmont, the western section of the Plain, and around the Brenner the people are markedly Teutonic in features, proving that the Plain has been a meeting place of many races.

The Plain of Lombardy, as the central area of the Po Valley is known, is the chief industrial territory in Italy, and Turin in Piedmont is second only to Milan as a centre of industry.

The vigour, intelligence, and activity of the people of northern Italy contrasts strongly with the mere lethargic people of the south. It is not surprising that it is in the north that Italian democracy has its strongest roots. Fascism may have silenced it temporarily, but it was never destroyed.

The artisan and the peasant are among the most hard-working in Europe, a fact which is reflected in the great industries built up in Turin and Milan, and in the intensively cultivated countryside. For craftsmanship the workers of the north are unsurpassed in Europe; they are splendid engineers, road-makers, bridge-builders and shipwrights.

Italy is not all sunshine, and this is certainly true of the valley of the Po. Indeed in winter the climate is severe, and definitely colder than that of Britain. There is no doubt that this has reflected itself in the enterprising character of the people.

The valley has a continental climate, in fact, much hotter in summer and colder in winter than peninsular Italy. In Milan the thermometer drops below zero at times.

For hundreds of years, large areas of the Po Valley have been irrigated, and many cattle are kept. The fertility of the soil is such that, in the water-meadows of the Po, it is possible to reap a crop of hay for each of eight or nine months in the year.

The rice grown is some of the finest the world produces. The plain is a notable centre of the silk industry, and the sheep maintained in the foot-hills yield the heaviest wool crop in the country.

Because of the nearness of the mountains, water-power is abundant, and it has been intensively harnessed in recent years for the electrification of the railways, for power and light. Practically every village is supplied, and almost every industry has the benefit of it.

Milan and Turin are the leading centres in Italy for heavy industries, and of late years the production of cars and planes has multiplied many times.

"GREAT POLITICAL LEADER AND A MASTER OF WAR."

AMERY'S TRIBUTE TO MR. CHURCHILL.

India's Secretary of State, the Rt. Hon'ble L. S. Amery, pays the following tribute to Mr. Churchill, as a man who has known him from his school days at Harrow.

From the days of his adventurous youth, which led him to every war that was waging—in Cuba, on the Indian frontier, in the Sudan, in South Africa—Mr. Winston Churchill has been led on and sustained by high ambition. It was his ambition to be remembered in after years as the outstanding figure of his age—above all if that age should be one of those great periods of world-crisis in which England has in every century or so played a leading part. That was what Mr. Winston Churchill always wished to be, and that is what, often thwarted and distracted, he became, in England's hour of greatest need.

Carlyle, in "Heroes and Hero Worship" compares a great man to lightning, for which the rest of mankind are fuel, ready to be kindled into a flame. No one can have lived through that summer of 1940, above all as a colleague in the Government or as a fellow Member of Parliament, who would deny the truth of that parallel as applied to

Mr. Churchill. Some of us will never forget the meeting of Ministers during the first most anxious days of Dunkirk, when I was reminded of what was once said of the Great Chatham. "No one came out of his room without feeling himself a stronger man."

But Carlyle's parallel is incomplete, for in human affairs the fuel also sustains the lightning, and a great nation lifts its leader to greatness if once the elements of greatness are in them. So it was with Mr. Churchill. He inspired England because England inspired him. He had continuously striven for greatness. Now the time and place for greatness were his, and he rose to the full height of his opportunity.

Events are still too close to allow of a final appreciation of his war leadership. But this much at least can be said: that since the days of Chatham he is the first leader of the nation in a supreme crisis, who by personal experience and study has understood war. The Younger Pitt and Lloyd George might compare with him in their power to voice the national spirit or to carry Parliament with them. But neither was in his element in dealing with military problems or with military men. For Mr. Churchill, war with its dramatic intensity and its immense influence on the whole course of history, has always been the main preoccupation. In this greatest struggle of all time, he has found new life, and in the handling of its problems supreme exercise of all the accumulated energies of his being. In him, the fighting services have felt that they were dealing with a master-mind in their own domain. For once democracy has found a great political leader who is also a master of war.

It is in this double capacity, as representative of Britain's fighting forces as well as of British democracy, that he has been able so powerfully to impress his personality and his strategy upon other leaders of the great alliance. President Roosevelt and Marshal Stalin are both great men. Each stands for the immense resolution and the immense power of a great nation. But neither sums up to the same extent in his own person the causes for which this war is being fought, the national effort which sustains it and the strategy which directs it. For allies in arms, for friends hoping against hope under oppression, for enemies ill at ease even in the hour of their apparent triumph, he has been the embodiment of that Old England which, to bring Pitt's words up to date, "saved herself by her exertions and the world by her example".

So there he stands—four-square, stubborn, ardent, persuasive, humorous, with a world-wide breadth of vision, and not a few healthy human prejudices—a great Englishman.

RESOLVING RIVALRIES IN LIBERATED COUNTRIES.

TASK OF TRUSTEE GOVERNMENTS.

(*From the Times.*)

The incidents of the week-end in Brussels, the recent disturbances in Greece and the troubles of the Bonomi Cabinet in Italy—all illustrate in different ways the political embarrassments confronting the Governments of the United Nations whose forces are operating in or through liberated territories in Europe.

As the work of liberation proceeds, the administration is rightly and necessarily transferred to the national Government of the country concerned. Such a Government will in the nature of things be provisional, but in the meanwhile its power must be effective. Two essential conditions are that it shall aid and support the armies of the United Nations in their task of liberation, and that it should be fairly representative of the mass of opinion in the country.

It is the second of these conditions which sometimes proves difficult to apply. Much that is fateful has happened in the past four years, and it is no longer safe to assume that the old political parties provide an adequate foundation of representative Government. In the turbulent days of liberation and its aftermath, with the war still making its imperative claims, no consultation of popular will is yet possible, nor would the popular will be likely in the present conditions to define itself in clear or long-sighted terms. Where "free" Governments have maintained themselves in exile, and played their share in directing the war effort of their occupied and enslaved nations, it has been natural to turn to them as providing a basis of continuity and legality in Government. Yet it is also clear that the rivalries between those who have kept the national cause alive beyond the national borders, and those who, staying at home, have defied the worst hardships and horrors of Nazi occupation and led ultimately the triumphant forces of resistance, may become a potent source of friction, and it would be a perverted sense of justice which rated the claims of the former over those of the latter. It is this search for a national Government, enjoying the widest possible prestige of popular support, which expresses itself in clashes of opinion about more or less radical measures of domestic reconstruction, or more or less severe treatment of active and passive "collaborators".

So long as joint military operations are in progress, these issues must remain in some sense the common concern of the United Nations. No ultimate solution can be found until impartial democratic elections can be held, and these can scarcely precede the end of hostilities in Europe. In the meanwhile, the greatest tact will be demanded from Allied military authorities. On the other hand, a strong obligation rests on dissentient groups not to press their opposition to a point where all forms of orderly popular Government become unworkable. The demand, not for representation in Government but for the right to maintain armed forces independent of those of the State, is an obvious example of opposition carried to a point where it becomes no longer either legitimate or tolerable.

The potentialities for harm of an inherently difficult situation are immensely increased when an attempt is made, as it has been in one or two irresponsible quarters, to complicate domestic rivalries by invoking issues of international import. The suggestion that dissentient factions are divided by their allegiance to Great Britain (or Great Britain and the United States) on the one side and to Russia on the other, or that they enjoy the special patronage of these Powers respectively, is one of those mischievous attempts to divide the Great Powers and play them off against one another, which Nazi propaganda has long vainly striven to encourage. Both in Eastern and Western Europe, unity of policy and action between the three Great Powers is a principle whose supreme importance is recognised by them all, and it is part of this principle that differences of opinion or interest between them, where such arise, should be settled by direct discussion

between them, and not by pursuit of divergent lines of action in local conflicts. In the attitude to be adopted towards countries in the course of liberation, military considerations remain paramount until the task of the armies has been crowned with victory, and these point to the primary need for maintaining order and discipline. But next to this, it is important that national Governments everywhere should have a broad and comprehensive basis of popular consent, and should regard themselves as invested not with plenary authority to determine the destinies of the country for an indefinite period, but with the responsibility of provisional trustees for Governments which will one day be elected to replace them.

NEW CABINET FOR POLAND.

"A MOMENTARY STOP-GAP".

(From the Times).

The best that can be said of the announcement of the formation of a new Polish Government in London under M. Arciszewski, and without the participation of M. Mikolajczyk and the Peasant Party, is that a step so clearly out of touch with the present realities and future needs cannot be regarded as more than a momentary stop-gap.

The bankruptcy of the Pilsudski régime in Poland before the war was summed up in its failure to find adequate working solutions of two major issues—agrarian reform and relations with Russia. These issues dominate and must continue for some time to dominate the policy of any organ seeking to constitute itself as the Government of Poland.

M. Arciszewski is a courageous veteran of the Polish movement, who has been actively associated with underground resistance in Poland during the occupation. But personal courage is no guarantee of political sagacity ; and a would-be Polish Government which fails to come to terms with the Peasants, and rejects the only possible basis on which conversations with Russia can be fruitfully continued, seems unlikely to render effective service to the Polish cause.

For a long time past, the Polish question has placed the British Government in a position of some embarrassment. Polish units, small in numbers but distinguished by their gallantry and devotion, have been co-operating closely with the armed forces of Great Britain in Italy and on the Western front, on the sea and in the air. It is the general desire that these brave men should play their part through their political representatives, in shaping and planning the future destinies of their country, but it is not less clear that those destinies will be shaped, and can only be shaped, in close agreement and association with a great Power to whose prowess the liberation of Poland from the Nazi terror is primarily due, and whose strength will be in future the only sure bulwark of Polish security. Unfortunately, the majority of Polish politicians in London, blindly faithful to a fatal and discredited tradition, have forced the resignation of the only leader of eminence among them, whose sense of realities made him capable of recognising this simple truth, and of building on it a workable policy for Poland of the future. This attitude of self-frustration will not in the long run impede the cause of Polish reconstruction. All that it can do is to exclude those who pursue it from participation in that task.

SEA GRIP TIGHTENS ON JAPAN.

LITTLE SHIPS CUT SUPPLY LINES.

(*By A. J. McWhinnie*).

It is probably in connection with important British developments in the naval war against the Japanese that Admiral Sir Bruce Fraser, the hard-hitting Commander-in-Chief of Britain's Eastern Fleet, flew recently to London to take part in the Board of Admiralty discussions.

Even now, when he is back with his Fleet, there is official silence about the London talks, and there has not been any official announcement that he has ever left this theatre of war. There is keen speculation among officers and men of the Fleet as to what new moves lie ahead.

Through the smoke-screen of secrecy emerges the recollection of the recent Churchill speech, in which he made the specific statement that in due course British warships would be fighting in the Pacific as distinct from the Indian Ocean.

One might expect that naval men, who have been through five years of the fiercest sea war in history—in the Atlantic; the Mediterranean; the Arctic Ocean; the North Sea and the narrow, perilous waters of the English Channel—would be content to relax calmly away from the actual fighting. But in fact, having done their job in these waters so well that they rule the entire Indian Ocean, men of the Royal Navy want only to get into full-scale action with the Japanese.

They remember Singapore, just as the men in the West remembered Dunkirk. They have talked for months of the day when the Pacific may be an Anglo-American theatre of operations, instead of an almost completely United States sphere of influence. They want to start the greatest Allied naval line-up in history. It seems strange, as they talk about the boredom of ruling one ocean without much chance of a battle, to recall that a rittle more than two years ago the Japanese navy was steaming proudly—gloatingly—light into the Bay of Bengal.

VIGIL GOES ON.

I have encountered some people who believe that the naval bases in the Indian Ocean have lost their immediate importance, because nothing more than an occasional Japanese submarine shows up in the area. That is a wildly fantastic and ignorant view. The fact that battleships, cruisers, aircraft-carriers and their attendant destroyers may switch to the Pacific does not remove the necessity for Britain's Navy to maintain its mastery over the Indian Ocean.

That mastery can only be maintained by seeing to it that all troop and supply convoys, criss-crossing the Indian Ocean and bringing reinforcements to front-line areas, are protected from both submarine and air attack. I doubt if, all told, the Japanese have to-day many more than 50 submarines in all areas. But so long as they have a single submarine left, flotillas of Britain's destroyers, frigates, sloops and corvettes must

be on constant and vigilant patrol, and there must be aircraft-carriers patrolling those parts of the Indian Ocean beyond the range of shore-based aircraft.

There must still be attacks on Japanese-held territory from the West. So whatever happens in the Far East, Britain's Navy must still rule the waves on the western side of that territory. The search for furtive Japanese supply ships trying to sneak arms, ammunition and food from Sumatra to Rangoon, in small consignments trans-shipped to sampans must be maintained day and night. Nor, of course, are the sampans ignored.

Submarines of Britain's Royal Navy—which have been scoring further successes since coming into the Eastern waters—must still be lying in wait across the Japanese coastal communications. There are other obligations—about which the world has not yet heard.

LITTLE SHIPS WITH A BIG JOB.

Recently I was up on the Arakan front with British forward patrols, who were driving out Japanese watchers from the Arakan hills. Down below in the brown swirling Burmese rivers and chaungs—or inlets—there were heavily armed, fast (though small) motor warships of the Royal Navy and the Royal Indian Navy. There were also some minelayers of the Burma Navy, which came over to join up with Britain's forces when Rangoon fell.

Those small ships—often hundreds of miles away from bigger warships—knew, even as they move operationally from their moorings, that hostile eyes are watching them from the surrounding hills. But having enforced nightly curfew on the Arakan rivers under British control, these small motor warships go out to see that the curfew is observed. Any sampan sailing the rivers after dark does so at its own risk.

Until I reached the Naaf river, the story of these small warships had never been told. But in addition to their vigilance, patrols and occasional bombardments of Japanese positions, this navy in miniature undertakes other missions of a perilous and secret nature.

The Japanese are so scared of what might come next, that whenever hilltop watchers see a force of minelayers on the move, they send up flares to warn the next outpost. Above all, Japanese forward patrols fear that sampans bringing them food and ammunition will find their lines of communication cut by Britain's Navy and Royal Air force.

There are many people in the world who believe that the Japanese can live for weeks daily on a handful of rice. The truth is that the Japanese, like other peoples, must have a balanced diet. Bread is the staple diet of Europeans, but they cannot live by bread alone. The Japanese cannot live by rice alone.

BLOCKADE TIGHTENED EVEN FURTHER.

Blockaded of other foods, and unable to maintain constant ammunition and reinforcements in forward areas, it is inevitable that the Japanese war effort must be handicapped. The United Nations are now sqeezing the Japanese from both sides. From the Indian Ocean side that blockade will be tightened even further. There is news that Britain's Navy has a super-fighter aircraft now released from the secret list. It is the Firefly—a machine with longer range than any other type of earlier naval fighter, and it is possible to say that it is the hardest hitting aircraft of its type. It carries four 20 m. m. cannons,

and has been specially designed with one eye on the Far Eastern war. Its particular job may well be to search for Japanese supply ships, and attack them before they can deliver urgently needed stores to vital Japanese garrisons. I have talked to the pilots who have flown with this new machine in Home waters. They are convinced that Japanese seamen will hate it.

JAPAN'S DEFENSIVE STRATEGY AT SEA.

PACIFIC BALANCE-SHEET.

(*From the Glasgow Herald*).

Forty years ago, Admiral Togo, the greatest authority on sea warfare Japan has ever produced, wrote: "In a battle, the most important thing is caution. It has often happened in the past that there have been matters for regret after a battle". This prophetic voice from the dead must have been recalled in Tokyo during the past few days, as details of the American naval victory in the Philippines accumulated; the loss of two Japanese battleships, four aircraft-carriers, eight cruisers and several destroyers is on any reckoning a severe, though not necessarily crippling, blow to the enemy's fighting fleet.

More serious, probably, than the material loss of tonnage—which can hardly be greater than the new construction in Japanese shipyards since Pearl Harbour in 1941,—is the fact that American losses in the same action were relatively insignificant.

The natural instinct is to congratulate the United States captains and crews on the superior strategy and seamanship which certainly contributed to this successful sequel to the Midway and Coral Sea engagements two years ago. But detailed accounts from Washington have added a novel and grotesque feature to navigation and gunnery; it now appears that the Japanese Admirals were misled by their own radio, which broadcast accounts of a naval victory that were purely imaginary. This, no doubt, was meant for domestic consumption, but the Japanese Commanders believed it, and steamed forward to their own undoing.

The actual course of events seems to have been that a small squadron of Japanese ships exchanged shots with a similar American force, presumably at long range and with indecisive results. Tokyo then magnified this, and Japanese heavy ships, though not necessarily the main fleet, seized what appeared to be a good opportunity to annihilate an inferior force, arguing that in this situation Togo's counsels of caution would not apply. The biter was bit, but a curious feature of the case is that the Japanese had already experienced the fictional character of their own broadcasts.

A month ago, after the Americans occupied Palau on October 6, Tokyo claimed a great naval victory off Formosa, but three days later the American landing in the Philippines disproved that claim. The American Fleet—which will soon be further reinforced by the Royal Navy, now that the *Tirpitz* is destroyed—will naturally take this success as partly a gift of the gods, and calculate that the enemy will not be so credulous again. Admiral Togo's insistence on a defensive strategy will almost certainly be applied even more strictly by his discomfited successors, but a defensive strategy does not win campaigns.

GROW MORE VEGETABLES..

(From the Madras Agricultural Calendar).

In times of War, peace-time conditions are found to be seriously affected. All means of quick transport are engaged mostly by the essential services. Transport of merchandise over long distances is not easy. Therefore every effort must be made to make every region self-sufficient particularly in regard to foodstuffs. While it requires great energy and organisation to make any region self-sufficient with regard to minerals or heavy industries, it is easy to make a region self-sufficient with regard to foodstuffs. With proper tilth and manuring any soil can be made to bear some crop or other. You have only to choose the crop suited to your soil and climate.

The growing of major food crops like rice, cholam etc., requires larger areas and equipment such as ploughs and manures. Our villages are solving this problem to the best of their ability. The growing of vegetables is easy, and can be done if people living in cities devote their leisure hours to it. You can grow vegetable in your compounds. At present some of you are growing flowering plants, crotons and creepers to beautify your home. You can replace these plants by vegetables and thus help to solve the food problem. By judicious selection of the vegetables plants and suitable gardening practices, you can beautify the compounds as much as you are doing now with crotons etc. If each one grows as many vegetables as he can he is helping to solve the national food problem.

There is one other important economic aspect of the growing of vegetables in your house compounds. For good nutrition, it is not enough if the theoretical amount of calorific value is supplied by any one organic or nitrogenous food. The body requires a balanced diet in which vitamins play a great part. Vegetables are important in balancing our diet and also to supply vitamins. If this aspect of nutrition is neglected you are sure to become susceptible to various diseases and your medical bill will increase. By raising vegetables in your house compounds, the following can be achieved :—

(1) You will be helping to solve the national food problem.

(2) You will beautify your garden.

(3) You will have sufficient out-door exercise to keep you fit.

(4) You will be supplying your vitamin requirements yourself and thus minimise your medical bill.

Hence grow more vegetables in your house compounds.

NOTE:—For seeds and other particulars, apply to your local Agricultural Demonstrator.

POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION.

(17) "INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT"—(1)

Speakers:—Mr. Wickham Steed (Chairman).
Sir Miles Thomas.
„ Atul Chatterjee.

(Broadcast in the B. B. C's Eastern Service, on November 6, 1944).

Steed: To-day our subject is the industrialisation of India. I want to begin by asking Sir Miles Thomas, as a recognised authority of the engineering side of industrialisation, what he thinks would be the right point of view from which to approach the subject.

Thomas: To increase her prosperity India must make a greater use of the assets she possesses. Perhaps, it would be helpful if we surveyed those assets. Those assets are, first, an enormous market. The standard of living in India to-day is not as high as it is in many other countries, but by improving that standard India will automatically find an outlet for a vast quantity of goods that can be manufactured, in some part at least, in India itself. Then, by increasing the labour employed in the manufacture of those goods, she will be supplying a considerable part of the population of India with higher wages, and enabling them to pay better prices for products which go to feed and clothe them. Now the Indians, as I know them, are a race of very considerable ability in so far as manipulative processes are concerned. We in Britain have some experience of manufacturing in India, and of Indian labour. If you organise labour properly and teach the workman how to earn high wages, you'll find that he's ingenious and a good worker.

Steed:—You said "India as a market"; did you mean mainly as internal market or a market for export and import?

Thomas: I think it's both. But if India is going to increase her prosperity, she should fill her own market with goods that she manufactures herself. If she merely becomes a sponge for absorbing the output of Britain or America, or other highly industrialised countries, she will simply be spending her wealth in other parts of the world, which will lead to economic unbalance instead of economic balance.

Steed: Now, Sir Atul Chatterjee, do you agree with what view?

Chatterjee: I am in full agreement with what Thomas has said. In addition, I would say that the development of industries in India would also enable the Indian agriculturist and agricultural labourer to obtain many of their requirements at a cheaper cost than at present, and their standard of living would also be raised. But I must ask Thomas a question. When you, Thomas, refer to the possibility of India becoming a sponge to absorb the output of other countries, what exactly had you in mind? Surely, India must export to pay for the goods she has to import? Is it your opinion that India should not even export any surplus raw materials, or that India should import nothing from outside?

Thomas: I would say that as much raw material as possible should be fabricated inside India for Indian consumption. The essence of the whole problem is to provide work for the Indians from Indian sources. All engineering industries have learned a great deal during the war about the utilisation of labour; and one of India's greatest assets is the vast quantity of labour. Take articles such as motor-cars—in which I am particularly interested—refrigerators, washing-machines, household electrical appliances and fittings, agricultural implements and that kind of thing. To my mind, there's no reason why there shoultn't be developed quite a big manufacturing industry in India for the fabrication of goods such as these, which can also be sold in India, thereby achieving a kind of internal economic balance.

Steed: Do you think it's possible for India to begin with a fully-fledged engineering industry? Wouldn't she need, to begin with at any rate, pieces of mechanism, even if the less complicated parts could be produced in India from the beginning?

Thomas: That's a good point. If India is to try to produce at the present time complete articles of the sort I've referred to, she will find that in many respects she's behind what might be termed the current fashion. In engineering, just as much as in clothes, there's a certain fashion, and that fashion aspect is a very definite factor in countries like Britain and America, where big adavances are continually being made. It's important, I think, that India should begin to try to build up a section of her engineering industry by importing the parts that are very difficult to make. For instance, if you take a washing-machine it would probably be difficult for the electric motor to be made in India, but there's no reason why the casing, the pressed-metal parts and the finishing shouldn't be done in India, thereby utilising Indian labour.

Steed: Your mention of electrical plant makes me think of hydro-electric power. What's the position in India, Chatterjee, so far as electricity is concerned? And how is India off for coal?

Chatterjee: We already have hydro-electric power in many areas in India, other big schemes are under construction and I believe large extensions are possible. As to coal, unfortunately in India we've got coal only in one large area, that is, in Bengal and Bihar, though there are comparatively small deposits elsewhere. Therefore, the development of hydro-electric power on a large scale would be of great value in India, especially in parts of the country remote from the coalfields. We are already using hydro-electric power extensively in Bombay, in Madras, in Mysore, and right up in the north below the Himalayas, and elsewhere in India.

Steed: Can you tell me, Thomas, whether there's any limit to the utility of a grid-system? Can you transport hydro-electric power over very long distances without any loss of energy?

Thomas: Well, you get some drop of voltage if you extend your lines over very vast distances, but, with the amount of hydro-electric power that Sir Atul has mentioned, it should be possible to have a web created anyhow over the whole of the less hilly parts of India. When the power's there, the demand will be automatically created, and in this way the whole thing "snowballs up" into a sizable, economic structure.

Chatterjee: I agree with that. In part of North India we have a grid-system, and most of the mills in Bombay are run by hydro-electric power, which we also have in many other parts of India. There was a survey of the hydro-electric power in India some time ago, but a fresh survey is urgently necessary. It is one of the most important assets of India. Outside Bengal we have practically no navigable rivers or canals, and coal has to be carried long distances by rail. Every effort should be made to utilise and develop our hydro-electric resources.

Thomas: When you have abundant labour and widespread electric power, it gives you the basis of a very encouraging development.

Steed: A development that would not have been conceived 50 years ago.

Thomas: No.

Steed: If you get abundant labour, raw material and electric power, there need be no limit to the industrial development of India. But that industrial development must not be organised solely for the benefit of wealthy comapanies or monopolies; the benefit must pass to the people, in order to lift the general standard of life.

Thomas: It seems to me, that we must look on India—and when I say 'we' I mean Britain and America as well as India herself—not as a vast pool into which we can throw a bait and bring out some sizable fish, but as country which must be developed autonomously in such a way that she will go on developing herself, and thus attain prosperity. In the past, too many people have looked upon India as a place to get something out of, instead of a place into which you put a certain amount of money and a great deal of knowledge, let it develop and bring forth its fruits.

Chatterjee: You referred just now to the vast amount of labour in India, I have often been told that on account of lack of training Indian labour doesn't always turn out to be as efficient as it should be. There are also such factors as health and education. These are matters which must be attended to in any properly conceived scheme for the industrialisation of India.

Thomas: Yes, I can confirm from my own experience that nutrition and education both play very important parts in obtaining working efficiency. Without proper food fatigue sets in quickly, reducing rate of output, quality and accuracy. As for education, one of the most valuable lessons that we engineers have learnt during the war is the need for ample training; training not only in technical and academic matters, but also in manipulative work. And training can work wonders with Indian labour, because of the high degree of adaptability of such craftsmen.

Steed: You may have very highly, paid-labour, yet produce low-priced goods. Given good machinery and skilled workmen, the resulting product is cheaper than it would be if a similar product had been produced by lower-paid labour elsewhere. If in India you could get your labour equally skilled, you would be able to produce goods for the needs of the Indian market, at a more satisfactory price than the same goods dumped into India from abroad.

Chatterjee: I agree. I only wanted to make it quite clear that if you want an industrialised India one of the first steps ought to be to train Indian labour.

Thomas: I would like to enlarge on that point if I may. To-day we're at a stage in the development of engineering when the craftsman doesn't produce the goods that are sold to the consumer. The craftsman is the channel through which are produced the jigs, the tools, and the dies, and all the complicated technical devices which are then utilised by unskilled labour to produce the actual goods at attractive prices which the public can afford to pay. Let me give you a concrete illustration. Now, everyone knows that in India there's a great deal of brass-ware used for pots and domestic utensils; and in fact in India they use brass where we in this country use China porcelain very largely. Well now, those brass vessels are beaten out individually by Indian labour in the bazaars, and they're beaten out with very considerable skill and craftsmanship. Now, when we started making air-raid wardens' helmets in this country, we found that one man could produce one helmet a day if he beat the helmet by hand, just as the Indian beats out his brass-ware. But once we'd got the job jigged and tooled, and the dies made and the presses working, we produced those air-raid wardens' helmets at the rate of over a thousand a day.

Steed: There's no reason, I suppose, why the same process of mass-production shouldn't be introduced gradually into India?

Thomas: Certainly not. The skill that the craftsman of India has wants canalising into modern productive processes, and that I think is one of the facets of the case which will have to be studied very, very closely if the plan for the industrialisation of India is to succeed. It's not sufficient merely to put down new plant—to spend either Indian or any other capital in buying new plant—unless a certain amount of technique is imported into the country, sufficient, not only to educate the manipulative workers to give of their best, but also to produce what you might call "production engineers"; these are the people who can design the jigs and tools and dies to enable the manipulative people to give of their best.

Steed: Of course, we've been through that process in this country. I remember an engineer telling me when he was a young man, it was a skilled job to produce the connecting rods to an engine. But nowadays an man is given half-a-dozen bars of raw steel, puts them in a lathe, and the lathe does the work. If anything goes wrong he has to ring a bell and a fitter comes. On the other hand, there are things that can't be done quite like that. I don't know how much horse-traction there is in India, but a thing like a horseshoe—you can't produce by mass-production all ready to be fitted on to the feet of horses.

Thomas: No, it's a curious thing you should mention that, because I was offered a very large contract at the beginning of the war far the production of horseshoes—actually for the Belgian Cavalry—some millions were required. But we found that the process could not be mechanised, because there were too many variations of type and the order was eventually divided up and spread around among a lot of village blacksmiths. The same thing applies to many of the native industries of the Indian village. I myself have seen the local tailor producing some extremely fine examples of sewn garments. I think there's a great deal of inherent and native craftsmanship in the village and cottage industries of India, which might usefully be developed even in this mechanistic age.

Chatterjee: I suppose Sir Miles would agree that gradually we ought to make all the parts, and not merely content ourselves with making the easier and simpler parts?

Thomas: Yes, that's the whole idea. The cycle as I see it would be, first of all, to import what I might call the difficult parts, like the engine of a motor-car, the back-axle, probably some of the transmission, and the electrical equipment—the parts in which there is invested a very great deal of experimental and development work. Years and years of the most intensive type of study have gone into the kind of equipment, India couldn't hope to catch up with us under possibly 50 or 60 years. But by importing these parts, and by fabricating round them the parts which have a larger labour content, such as the body, the upholstery, the glassware, you would then form a nucleus from which an industry could be developed which, year by year, would absorb a larger proportion of the whole, until finally you're making the whole in India.

Chatterjee: If we have to wait for 50 or 60 years before we can make the finer and more difficult parts, by that time we shall be far-behind any other country in the world in manufacture.

Steed: I didn't understand Sir Miles to say that—I think you misunderstood him. I think he meant that if India tried to do everything by herself from the beginning, it might take her 50 or 60 years, but if India imports the essential and more complicated parts of certain machinery, and only make, at the beginning the simpler things, then India can go right ahead.

Thomas: That's right: what India must do is to import the knowledge rather than the actual goods.

Chatterjee: I am sorry if I misunderstood you. But I should like you to enlarge a little more on how these finer parts, the more difficult parts, could be gradually manufactured in India. We want a great deal of technical skill for that. Would you suggest that we should import technicians, in order to start those industries in India, and also start research laboratories and projects like that?

Thomas: You'd have to import a few technicians, but I think by importing the actual items themselves, as you in fact are doing these days in the form of complete units such as automobiles, necessity for maintaining, servicing and repairing those items will automatically give you a training channel for getting your technicians ripe for the manufacturing processes. You see, if a man has to disassemble and decarbonise and re-condition an automobile engine, and he's spent five or six years doing that, he's in a very good state to begin the manufacturing processes, and ultimately he will be a manufacturer and even to some extent a designer. I am not unconscious of the fact that my own chief, Lord Nuffield, started as a repairer of motor-cars, and gradually mastered sufficient technique of the engineering side of the thing, and became a first-class manufacturer.

Chatterjee: Here I would like to ask you a question. Would it be of any great advantage for India to send promising men who have been in assembly-works to this country or to America in order to get further experience and learn modern methods, and if such men are sent would they get sufficient facilities to learn, or would there be trade jealousy?

Thomas: There would be no trade jealousy at all. So for as we are concerned, w[illegible] welcome any Indian students in our own apprenticeship and training sche[illegible] may say that my firm has a training scheme which absorbs 150 pupils each[illegible] The pupils not only work in our factories but go to technical schools in the evening. We encourage them by offering University courses—10 a year—so that they have a target to aim at.

Chatterjee: For several years I was High Commissioner for India, and one of my duties here was to try to find opportunities for young Indians sent by the Central and Provincial Governments in India to be trained. In most cases we found the big firms here very helpful: but in some cases there seemed to be some feeling that these men would be trade-competitors in India. I am glad to hear you say that in your judgment it would be an advantage both to this country and to India if men were able to come here to learn engineering. During the present war—at the instance of Mr. Bevin, the Minister for Labour—a large number of young men have come to this country for a period of training. This has had excellent results in several different ways, but I have felt that the period of their stay, which is about nine months, is too short. I hope Thomas will agree that measures of this kind should be taken on an even larger scale after the war, if industrialisation is to develop properly in my country.

Thomas: I wholly support your opinion, Sir Atul, that nine months is far too short for anything effective in the way of technical education. A student can hardly get into the atmosphere of the factory, and make friends with his fellows, and achieve a sufficiently stable frame of mind to enable him to absorb the information that he has to acquire The period varies with the type of work, of course, but really nothing less than two years is of lasting value. But don't be disheartened, Sir Atul, I'm sure you will find that there has been a great enlightenment in the outlook of industrialists and engineers, particularly of late. In the spacious days, when a definite volume of trade seemed to be assured, it was the policy of individual directorates to grab as big a share of the total as they could. Nowadays, there is a much greater tendency for co-operative effort to increase the volume of the total. In other words, I think you will find that British engineering firms are much more open about their activities.

Steed: There I'm afraid we must leave this discussion for the present. We can go into greater detail of how India is to be successfully industrialised, next week.

Extract from the Circular No. 72 dated 28—1—44, from the Civil Liaison Officer, Madras-Bangalore Area, Military Welfare Headquarters, Cornwallis Barracks, Bangalore to the Dewan of Pudukkottai.

FAMILY ALLOTMENT MONEY ORDERS.

A large number of complaints are being received from families of non-payment of F. A. M. Os., when in fact the money has been correctly received by the payee. Families do not seem to realise that all F. A. M. O. receipts are filed, and perhaps hope that by complaining of non-payment they will be paid again. Such unfounded complaints merely result in unnecessary correspondence.

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PROGRAMME.

LECTURE CCXXVIII (*Batch 2*).

16-12-44	Pappanachchivayal ...	7.00 p.m.	20-12-44	Malaiyur ...	7.00 p.m.
17-12-44	Surakkadu ...	7.00 „	„	Karambakkudi ...	7.30 „
„	Kottaikkadu ...	7.30 „	21-12-44	Valaramanikkam. ...	7.00 „
18-12-44	Tennatirayanpatti ...	7.00 „	„	Embal ...	7.30 „
„	Visalur ...	7.30 „	22-12-44	Viralimalai ...	7.00 „
19-12-44	Ramachandrapuram...	7.30 „	„	Poruvai ...	7.30 „
„	Rayavaram ...	7.00 „			

LECTURE CCXXIX (*Batch 3*).

23-12-44 Municipal Office ... 6.00 p.m.

24—12—44 to 2—1—45 ... CHRISTMAS HOLIDAYS.

RECRUITING—ADVERTISEMENT—4 p. m.

16—12—44	Vettamviduthi.
17—12—44	Marudankonviduthi.
19—12—44	Ramachandrapuram.
21—12—44	Alangudi.
2[illegible]—44	Pudukkottai.
23—12—44	Ponnamaravathi.

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